

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE TARIKH I FIRUZSHAHI BY ZIA
UDDIN OF BARAN.

(*Bibl. Indica Edition, p. 413.*)

THE REIGN OF SULTAN GHIASUDDIN TUGHLUQ SHAH.—*Translated by*
AUCKLAND COLVIN, ESQ., C. S.

Malik Fakhruddín Joná, called also Sultán Muhammad Sháh, son of Tughluq Sháh, deserts Khusrau Khán ; and flies to Deobálpúr, to his Father Ghází Malik (Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh). Ghází Malik marches from Deobálpúr to Delhi, to take vengeance on Khusrau Khán and his followers. Khusrau Khán despatches his renegade brother and Çúfí Khán, to oppose Ghází Malik, who defeats them.

Now when two and a half months had passed from the accession of Khusrau Khán, the destruction of the house of 'Aláuddín and Quṭbuddín, and the rout and dispersion of their followers and dependants, Malik Fakhruddín Joná, called also Sultán Muhammad, son of Tughluq Sháh, began to take counsel with certain of the chiefs of the nobles and captains of the house of 'Aláuddín and Quṭbuddín ; and gathered courage and waxed bold ; and his heart was stirred within him, so that he determined to avenge his former masters and benefactors. Placing his trust in God, he took horse, with a certain number of his servants, at the hour of afternoon prayer ; and separated himself from Khusrau Khán, and would have no dealings with him or with his party. And because in the hour of danger there are never wanting horsemen and footmen to side with the valiant, many others also went with him ; and they hastened in the direction of Deobálpúr. Then what had come to pass was told to Khusrau Khán in the same day at the hour of evening prayer : and he and his followers feared because of the departure of a man, himself a valiant captain, and the son of the conqueror of Khurásán and Hindústán. The multitude of the evil-minded and rebellious, seeing that he had fled to his father, were at their wits' end, and could take no counsel, and his kingdom became a burden to Khusrau Khán, and the delight of his followers was turned into bitterness. Then there were sent in pursuit of him certain rebel horsemen, led by the son of Muhammad Qurrah Qímár,

who had been made General of the Forces. But Sultán Muhammad, son of the lord of Irán and Túrán, ceased not to travel through the night, and on the next day arrived at Sarsuti, and the horsemen who pursued him were unable to overtake him, and returned whence they had come, discomfited. While Sultán Muhammad was still on his way to Sarsutí, his father, Ghází Malik Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh, had sent Muhammad Sartabah, with two hundred horsemen, from Deobálpúr to Sarsutí, and had seized upon the Fort at that place. So, passing through Sarsutí, Sultán Muhammad came in safety to his father at Deobálpúr; and his father rejoiced greatly, and gave thanks to God, because his son had been restored to him; and he ordered that they should give alms, and beat the drums in token of rejoicing.

Then Ghází Malik determined that he would take vengeance on the Parwáris and the Hindús, because they had slain his master, and he began to prepare an host with which he should destroy the Parwáris. But the rebel Khusrau Khán, who, by the aid of the Parwáris, had given to himself the title of Sultán Náçiruddín, appointed his renegade brother and Yúsuf Çúfí to the command of an army, with elephants and treasure. And to one he gave the title of KhánKhánán, and the other he named Çúfí Khán. And he ordered them to proceed from Delhi in the direction of Deobálpúr, and to oppose Ghází Malik, and give battle to him. Also to his brother he gave the royal insignia. So those two Captains without experience set out from Delhi with their treasure and their elephants, like to chicken who, breaking the egg and creeping from under their mother's wing, at once essay to fly; and because they were presumptuous beyond measure, and ignorant beyond belief, they delayed not to hurry to encounter Ghází Malik, and to seek out him who was a captain among captains, and exceeding terrible; from the stroke of whose sword, Khurásán and Mughulistán still reeled. Now Çúfí Khán, the renegade, before that he had started, went and stood before the men of God and such as had withdrawn themselves from the world, and commanded of them that they should offer up prayers and supplication on his behalf. But those just men, in the presence of Çúfí Khán and of his followers, and also after their departure, ceased not by

day and night to pray to God in this wise, and with a hidden meaning, saying, "Oh Lord God, in the battle between the Parwáris and Ghází Malik, let him who is the friend of the faith of Islám prevail." And it came to pass that their prayers were heard, and there was granted to Ghází Malik victory, because it was he who was fighting for Islám. Then those two Captains, who knew not what it was that they had undertaken, but were ignorant and void of experience, and who were fighting in an evil cause, arrived before Sarsutí. But they were unable to take Sarsutí out of the hands of the horsemen of Ghází Malik, and unwilling to encamp before it and besiege it. And because they were fools and without experience, they hastened on, and left behind them Sarsutí in the hands of the enemy. Full of vain confidence and conceit, like striplings in the presence of the mighty ones, being blinded with presumption, they pressed on to give battle to the terrible leader who had many times utterly discomfited and overthrown the bands of the Mughuls. But Ghází Malik, about the time that those foolish Captains had begun to march from Delhi, called to him from Ucha, Malik Bahrám Aibah, who was of the faithful, who came and joined himself to Ghází Malik at Deobálpúr, bringing with him horsemen and footmen. And when it was told to Ghází Malik, the soldier of Islám, and the scourge of the infidel and the heretic, that the renegade brother of Khusrau Khán, and Çúfí Khán, the ignorant ones, were hastening to meet him from Sarsutí, he gathered round him his friends, and his generals, and his Captains, and with his host departed from Deobálpúr; and passing by the town of Dalílí, and crossing over the river, he came and encamped before the enemy; and, on the second day, the armies drew up over against each other: and God protected the righteous, and there was thrown over the standard of Ghází Malik the shadow of the favour of God; so that at the first shock, the ranks of those rebellious ones were broken and overthrown, and the insignia of royalty, with the battle-axe of the renegade brother of Khusrau Khán, and the elephants, and the horses, and the treasure, fell into the hands of Ghází Malik. And of the leaders and captains of the rebel army, some were slain and wounded, and many were taken captive. But the two young men

who had set up themselves as generals and as leaders, and had given battle to men of power and to tried captains, and had caused the death of many, leaving behind them their treasure, and forgetting their honour, fled in great haste, so that the dust of their feet was not visible to the pursuer, and hastening to travel through the night, arrived before Khusrau Khán, covered with shame and disgrace. And because of their defeat and of the victory of Ghází Malik, Khusrau Khán and his followers were discomfited, and the Parwáris lost heart, and the faces of all those rebellious ones grew pale, and their lips dry ; for the Parwáris and Hindús, who were the allies of Khusrau Khán, saw that they could not prevail against Ghází Malik.

But Ghází Malik remained for seven days after his victory upon the field of battle, and collected much spoil, and gathered together his host, and advanced in great power and with a well appointed army to take vengeance upon the rebel, and destroy the infidel in Delhi. Then was Khusrau Khán much troubled in mind, and called to him his luckless nobles, and the Hindús and Parwáris, his allies, and came out of the city and encamped upon the 'Alái Hauz, so that before him there were groves of trees and gardens, and behind him the castle of Delhi ; and he alighted by Lahráwat, and from fear of Ghází Malik, he entrenched himself on all four sides. Also he brought with him all the treasure from Kílok'harí, and from Delhi. And because he saw that the hour of his discomfiture had come, and that he had lost his stake, he dispersed all his treasure, and destroyed all the records of accounts : and because he knew that his kingdom and his glory, his power and his life, were passing away from him in shame and in disgrace, he left nothing behind in his treasury, but scattered everything. Some of his treasure he gave as two and one half year's pay, and some as a free gift, to his soldiers ; and being purposed that not a coin should fall into the hands of the leader of the faithful, he left nothing in his treasure chest. Perplexed and without counsel, he rode out daily before his army, and called to him his chieftains and his leaders, and addressed them with flattery and caresses, and took no thought of his followers. But it was known to all the soldiers, that because of the advance of Ghází

Malik, the defeat and the destruction of Khusrau Khán and of his followers was at hand, and already they seemed to see the heads of those rebellious ones impaled upon lances. But the evil traitor Khusrau Khán was as a drowning man, and all his struggles were without purpose; the soldiers also said among themselves that to fight against Ghází Malik, is to fight against the army of Islám. So pouring curses upon the miserable traitors, they took with them the treasure which had been given them, and dispersed every man to his home, inasmuch as all men knew that injustice cannot prevail against justice, or the crooked be measured with the straight; nor can the rebellious prevail against the loyal, nor the unbeliever against the believer; so that in no wise could Khusrau Khán, a rebel, and without counsel, prevail against the faithful and victorious Ghází Malik. Now Khusrau Khán and his party had distributed the treasure about a month before the scattering of their soldiers, and had clung like drowning men to broken branches, and had abandoned themselves to all manner of iniquity. For they thought they might be saved by much treasure, and that as the scattering of money had availed 'Aláuddín in the year that he ascended the throne, so now also it might preserve them. Nevertheless Ghází Malik advanced stage by stage with his host, and with such as had remained faithful to him, and arrived over against the city, and encamped within the walls of Indpat. Also it happened that on the evening before the day of battle, 'Ainul Mulk Multání turned aside from Khusrau Khán, and departed to Ujjain and Dhár, and because of his departure, the heart of Khusrau Khán and of his followers failed them on the day of battle.

GHAZI MALIK GIVES BATTLE TO KHUSRAU KHAN AND DEFEATS HIM,
AND PUBLICLY ASCENDS THE THRONE.

So it came to pass that on Friday, which is a day of glory, and of honor, and of victory to the Musalmáns, and of all manner of evil to the Hindú and the unbeliever, Ghází Malik and his host arose and left Indpat, and sought out Khusrau Khán to fight him. Khusrau Khán also, with his Parwáris and Hindús, and as many Musalmáns as had remained to him, departed from his encampment, and sent his elephants in advance of him.

Then the two armies drew up on the plain of Lahráwat, and made ready the battle; and when the vanguards met, the vanguard of Ghází Malik prevailed against the enemy, and Malik Talbaghah Nágorí, who was among the most faithful of the followers of Khusrau Khán, and for the sake of Khusrau Khán had drawn his sword against the army of Islám, was defeated, he and others of the Parwáris: and his head was brought and laid before Ghází Malik. Then the son of Qurrah Qímár, who also was called Sháistah Khán and was General of the Forces, seeing that the battle was against him, withdrew with his troops from the army of Khusrau Khán, and went in the direction of the Desert. And coming in his way to Indpat, he fell upon the baggage of the army of Ghází Malik, and, having plundered it, continued his flight. But the two armies fought until the hour of afternoon prayer. Then it happened that after the hour of afternoon prayer, which on Friday is an hour of great holiness and very sacred, Ghází Malik gathered round him his followers and companions and chiefs, men of might and valour, and fell upon the centre of the army of Khusrau Khán. But Khusrau Khán, being weak as is a woman, could not bear up against the attack of mighty men of war, and straightway fled: and his army was scattered, and his soldiers discomfited. And he, leaving behind him his men at arms and his allies, the Parwáris, fled alone in the direction of Indpat, and there was no man to accompany him. Then the royal insignia were brought to Ghází Malik, who returned in triumph to his camp, and darkness fell; and a watch of the night had passed before that he arrived at his encampment at Indpat.

Now when Khusrau Khán arrived at Indpat, none of the Parwáris or his other followers remained to him. Therefore, returning from Indpat, he fled to the garden in which Malik Shádí 'Alái, who also had been formerly his benefactor, lies buried; and there he concealed himself that night. And after that Khusrau Khán had fled and his army had been routed, the Hindús and the Parwáris dispersed and disbanded themselves, every man to his own: and they were slain by the enemy in the country, the bazars, the streets, and in the quarters of the city, and their horses and arms were taken from them. Others also fled from the city by twos and by fours in the direction of Gujrát, and were slain on the road

that leads to that country, and their arms and horses were taken away. Also on the second day they seized Khusrau Khán in the garden, and bringing him thence they slew him. It came to pass, too, that during the night which Ghází Malik spent at Indpat, many of the chiefs and nobles and officers of the city came and did him obeisance, and they brought to him the keys of the castle and of the gates.

And on the second day after his victory Ghází Malik departed from Indpat, he and his nobles, his chieftains and his great men, and alighted with a great following at the Castle, and in the presence of all the principal men of the kingdom took his seat in the Palace of the Thousand Pillars. Then, when he had sat down, all the nobles of the court began to lament the fate of Sultán Qutbuddín, and of the other sons of Sultán 'Aláuddín, who had been their former masters; and bewailed with much lamentation the calamity that had befallen them; offering also thanks to God for the vengeance taken upon the Parwáris and Hindús, and because life was restored to Islám and to all Musalmáns, and because of the slaughter of the infidel. And after they had made an end, Ghází Malik spoke with a loud voice before them all, and said: "I also am one of those who am indebted to the favour of Sultán 'Aláuddín and Sultán Qutbuddín; and because that loyalty is in me, I have stood up, and have drawn my sword upon the enemies and murderers of my benefactors; and as far as was within me, have taken vengeance upon them. And now for this are ye all, followers of Malik 'Aláuddín and Qutbuddín, here assembled; that, if one of the family of our masters remain, ye should bring him forward at this time; and I will place him upon the throne; and will gird up my loins before the son of my master, and will do him homage. But if the enemy have utterly destroyed the family of 'Aláuddín and Qutbuddín, then are ye, the chiefs of either House, here at this time now gathered together. Choose ye whom ye will, and whomsoever ye think fit for the royal dignity, him place upon the throne; and I also will do obeisance. For inasmuch as I drew the sword, I drew it not for myself, but that I might exact vengeance for the blood of my masters. I have not come with all this my power to take for

myself the sovereignty; but what I have done, I have done in vengeance. Whom therefore ye shall elect to this throne, him also do I elect." Then all the assembled nobles answered with one voice, saying ;—"Of the sons of Sultán 'Aláuddín the rebels have not left one to place upon the throne. And now also at this time, because of the murder of Sultán Qutbuddín and the government of Khusrau Khán and of the Parwáris, there is rebellion throughout the Empire; and evil thinking men have raised their heads, and there is no authority. And to thee, O Ghází Malik! do we owe much thanks; for not many years have passed since thou didst stand as a wall against the irruption of the Mughuls, and through thee they were unable to advance into Hindústán. Now also hast thou bestirred thyself, and this loyal deed that thou hast done will be written in the chronicles of history, in that thou hast released us, who are Musalmáns, from the tyranny of Hindús and Parwáris, and hast slain them, and taken vengeance for the blood of our masters. In all this hast thou done well for the people of this land. God hath chosen thee only for this work from among all the followers of 'Aláuddín, and hath conferred this honour upon thee. Now therefore we all, and not only we, but all the faithful of this land, acknowledge the benefit thou hast conferred upon us. Nor do any of us who are here assembled know of any other but thee to place upon the throne of this kingdom, nor any such other in knowledge, and wisdom, and desert, and honour." Then all present signified their assent to these words; and the principal men gathered themselves together, and, taking the hand of Ghází Malik, placed him upon the throne. And because Ghází Malik had heard the cry of Islám and of the Musalmáns, they gave to him for all time the title of Ghiásuddín, which being interpreted, is 'Defender of the Faith.' Then on that day, Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh in the presence of all the people ascended the throne of the kingdom; and all the officers, and ministers, and secretaries, each in his own place, came and stood before the throne of Ghiásuddín, and did obeisance. At that time there was an end to all dissension, and fresh life was breathed into Islám, and the hope of the infidel was extinguished: so that the minds of men were set at rest.

Enumeration of the Ministers and Principal Servants of Sultán ulghází Ghiásuddunyá wal-dín (Defender of the World and Faith) Tughluq Sháh Sultán.

Çadr Jahán (Chief Justice) Qází Kamáluddín; Ulugh Khán, *viz.*, Sultán Muhammad Sháh; Bahrám Khán Sháhzádah; Mahmúd Khán, Sháhzádah; Mubáarak Khán, Sháhzádah; Mas'úd Khán Sháhzádah; Nuçrat Khán, Sháhzádah; Tatár Malik, the adopted son of the king; Malik Çadruddín Aرسالán, Náib Bárbak (Deputy Grandusher); Fírúz Malik, brother's-son to the Sultán; Malik Shádi Dáwar, Náib Wazír (Deputy Prime Minister); Malik Burhánuddín 'Álam Malik, Minister of Police; Malik Baháuddín, General of the Forces ('Arzulmamálik); Malik 'Alí Haidar, Náib Wakíl Dar; Malik Naçíruddín Mahmúd Sháh (Chamberlain); Malik Bahtá, (Treasurer); Malik 'Alí Igrí-íshak; Malik Shihábuddín, (Pursuivant) Ghorí; Malik Tájuddín Ja'far; Malik Qiwámuddín (Governor of Daulatábád); Qutlugh Khán; Malik Yúsuf, Náib (Deputy Governor) of Debálpúr; Malik Sháhín Akhurbak (Master of the Horse); Ahmad Ayáz, Shihnah 'Amárat (Minister of Public Works); Naçírumulk Khwájah Hájí; Malik Ihsán Dabír (Secretary); Malik Shihábuddín Sultání; Tájulmulk; Malik Fakhruddín; Dolshah Bosahárí; Malik Qírbak; Malik Kashmír Shihnah Bárgáh (Manager of the King's Court); Malik Muhammad Zágh; Malik Sa'duddín Mantıqı; Malik Husámuddín Hasan Mustaufı, (Examiner of Accounts); Malik 'Ainulmulk; Malik Káfúr Lang, Malik Sirájuddín Qasúrí; Malik Kháč Shihnah Pıl (keeper of the elephants); Malik Husámuddín Bedár; Malik Nizámuddín, son of 'Álam Malik; Malik 'Alí, brother to Malik Hájí; Malik Badruddín; Malik Tájuddín Turk, Deputy Governor of Gujrát; Malik Saifuddín; Malik Hájí.

In the name of God, the Merciful!

Thanks be to God the Creator! May His mercy rest on the Prophet and on the descendants of the Prophet, and may His mercy be extreme. This is the prayer of Ziá i Baraní, a suppliant for the mercy of the Omnipotent.

In the year 720, Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh (may his name live for ever) ascended the throne in the king's castle; and the royal dignity received fresh glory from his accession. And by reason of his

power and glory and might, in the space of one week he arranged the affairs of the kingdom. And the disorder and evil which had arisen during the reign of Khusrau Khán and of his followers was made straight; and he brought all things within his grasp; so that men said to one another, "Behold! Sultán 'Aláuddín has come to life again!" Within forty days Sultán Ghiásuddín secured for himself the confidence of all people, and the rebelliousness and disorder which had arisen on every side were changed to obedience and submission. Also, because he was a just man, the hearts of good men rejoiced at his rule, and the foolish thoughts of the evil ones were scattered, so that every man went to his business and his work in confidence and rejoicing, because the hand of the king was powerful and his rule firm. Neither was there any more violence or oppression. But because of the government of Ghiásuddín there was given to the kingdom great glory. And those matters which, in the hands of other men, would not have been accomplished for many years, were settled by Ghiásuddín in the course of a few days. All that he did for the succour of Islám and the destruction of those evil and rebellious ones has been written in these chronicles. Nor in the royal annals is there recorded any promptness like the promptness with which Sultán Ghiásuddín avenged his masters. Furthermore from the day on which he ascended the throne, he ordered that search should be made for any who might survive among the families of 'Aláuddín and Quṭbuddín, and he caused the wives of his benefactors to be treated with respect, and the daughters of Sultán 'Aláuddín he caused to be married to husbands of their own rank. But those men who, on the third day after the murder of Quṭbuddín, had, without respect to the law, read the marriage service of his widow with Khusrau Khán, he punished with extreme severity. Also to the other nobles and chiefs and officers of 'Aláuddín he gave lands and employment and presents; and treated them as his own companions. Neither would he allow them for slight causes to be called to give account. Also would he not follow the custom which is admitted among kings, of rooting out from the land the adherents and supporters of those who were in authority before them. From the day on which he ascended the throne, Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh was careful to base his government upon order and

method, looking only to the increase of his people, and the prosperity of his subjects, and to do justice and deal equitably, holding in honour men of learning, and of experience, and such as had done good service. Khwájah Khaṭír and Junaidí, chief of the Wazírs, and Khwájah Muhazzib Buzurg, who had formerly been of the councillors, but had some time ceased to be held in honour before the king, he again received into honour, giving to them robes, with salaries and presents, and appointing them to a higher rank in his presence. Of these men he enquired regarding such of the laws and ordinances of the kingdom as had proved to the people a cause of welfare, and whatever he saw good in the law, and such as might advance the prosperity of his subjects and the increase and happiness of his people, that he adopted. Also was he careful of himself to do nothing which should give offence, and ceased not to labour to restore the families which were fallen into decay, and to give life to such as had been well nigh uprooted. And because Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh was faithful and not forgetful of service which had been rendered him, he rewarded according to their merits all such as had served him in the days when he was a Malik, or who at any other time had shewn themselves to be men of trust and truth. In his time the just claim of no man was forgotten, nor his desire unfulfilled. In all things likewise he strove to observe moderation, which is the root of success and prosperity in the conduct of the affairs of a kingdom. Of himself only he took no heed, and did nothing merely with a view to the advancement of his own interest. Also was he careful to observe equity and moderation in the matter of his grants and his gifts, and the taxes which he imposed; not loading one man with thousands, and giving to another of the same rank, or of equal merit, nothing whatsoever; but being careful so far as it was possible to allow no man of worth to be neglected, or any unworthy man to be rewarded. Furthermore with him was there no caprice, nor were his actions ever such as to make the minds of men fearful and apprehensive, for in all things he observed order and just rule. Upon Sultán Muhammad, in whom all men saw the marks of wisdom and of uprightness, he conferred the title of Ulugh Khán, to whom also he gave the royal Insignia, and named him his successor. Of

the other princes, to the one he gave the title of Bahrám Khán, another he called Zafar Khán, a third Mahmúd Khán, and the fourth was called Nuçrat Khán. Upon Bahrám Aibah he conferred the dignity of brotherhood, giving to him the title of Kushlí Khán, and the government of Multán, and the district of Sind. His brother's son, Malik Asaduddín, he caused to be made Náib Bárbak (Deputy Grand Usher) and Malik Baháuddín, his sister's son, he raised to the dignity of General of the Forces, and conferred upon him the province of Samáná. His son-in-law, Malik Shádí, was appointed to be president of the Council of Ministers. To Tatár Khán who was his adopted son, he gave the name of Tatár Malik, and made him Governor of the parts of Zafarábád. Malik Burhánuddín, father of Qutlugh Khán, received the title of 'Álam Malik, and was made Koṭwál of Delhi. Malik 'Alí Haider was made Náib Wakíl, and Qutlugh Khán, Náib of the Wazírs of Deogír. Qází Kamáluddín was made principal judge: and the judgeship of the city of Delhi was given to Qází Samáuddín.

To Malik Tájuddín Ja'far was entrusted the governorship of Guj-rát. Other Maliks also he appointed to be his helpers and companions in affairs of state. And to others also he gave office and lands, and by means of these men, the government of his kingdom was administered with exceeding honour, and all men rejoiced because of them, so that their greatness and their power was written upon all hearts, and because of them the order and the power of his kingdom were established. Also Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh, being a prince of experience in the affairs of empire, during the four years that he reigned, was careful never to exalt any man at once to such honour and power as to cause him to be presumptuous, or to stumble from excess of pride. Nor also, because of neglect or bad service, was any man to be punished so as to cause others to be disheartened; nor did he ever speak or act in regard to such as had done good service, in a way that should shake the confidence of men. So that the couplet of Amír Khusrau may be quoted of the government of Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh, and in praise of his justice and his moderation—

“ He did nothing but with excellent knowledge and wisdom.

One might say that his turban covered the skull-caps of a hundred sages.”

All that the precepts of former kings and councillors have laid down regarding the protection of friends and allies, that also did Sultán Tughluq Sháh faithfully observe. Also by the favour of God was there implanted in his nature a desire for order, and a wish that his subjects should increase and multiply, and that the number of towns should wax great, and that many should gather together therein, and that intercourse should be promoted amongst men. And because of his justice and uprightness, he decreed that taxes should be levied with moderation from the cities of his kingdom, and would have no extraordinary taxes, nor would he listen to the words of informers, or the prompting of publicans and such like; but drove from the court of Councillors all manner of informers and tax-gatherers and publicans. Furthermore, he gave orders to his Councillors that on no account should they levy a tax of more than one-tenth or one-eleventh on the districts and the provinces, whether from their own inquiry or on the reports of informers. Rather should they strive that the people should multiply, and should increase the taxes little by little: lest from a sudden increase there should be caused distress to the people, and an opening should be given to oppression. Sultán Tughluq Sháh many times gave orders that the revenue from the provinces should be so levied as not to cause decrease to cultivation: but that the past should remain as before and that increase should be gradual, lest by rapacity the former receipts should be lessened, and nothing left for the future. For the ruin of a country is caused by the oppression and exaction of its rulers, and from farmers of revenue and from evil governors there arises all manner of evil. Also Sultán Tughluq Sháh gave orders to all collectors of the revenue, and to all governors of provinces, that in the matter of the revenue, there should be left so much to the Hindús, that neither on the one hand should they wax presumptuous from their wealth, nor on the other, desert their lands and their business in despair. And this is the rule which the wisest and the most experienced ministers observe: and surely there is no better rule than this in the matter of taxation of Hindús. Yet

again did Sultán Ghiásauddín Tughluq Sháh, being a wise and prudent king, order that the collectors of the revenue and the governors should make enquiry, and should forbid the head men to take more from the people than the revenue demanded by the king ; for if their own lands and pastures are not brought under the tax, the produce of their lands should suffice for their support, and they also abstain from extortion. For of a truth there is placed upon the neck of the head men a burden, so that if they also are compelled to pay the tax which is paid by others, there is left to them no recompense. Those whom he had raised to honour and whom he had entrusted with provinces and territories, he would in no wise allow to be brought before his ministers, like tax-gatherers. Nor would he allow payment to be taken from them with indignity and harshness, as is the manner with tax-gatherers ; but commanded them, if they did not wish that they should be brought before the Council, and be harshly entreated in the matter of payment, to the disgrace of the kingdom and the discredit of the nobles, that they should refrain from covetousness and extortion within their own provinces, taking only what is reasonable, and of that also apportioning a certain amount as salaries to their servants, being careful never to keep back a single coin of the just pay of their soldiers and servants. And if they should give of their own revenues to their soldiers and servants, well and good ; but to keep back that which is their due, is to bring the name of the nobles of the empire to disgrace and to shame. For the governor who consumes the pay of his servants consumes dirt. But if it were needful, the maliks and the princes should take for themselves from the revenue of their provinces, a twentieth or twenty-second, or a tenth, or a fifteenth, taking this as the dues of their government : for in this they should not be discouraged, nor is it for the Council of the Empire to demand from them the repayment of such sums. So also if the servants of the governors of the provinces should take a fifth thousand or tenth thousand besides their pay, for such small sums they should not be treated with disgrace, or payment be re-demanded from them with beating, torture, or imprisonment. But those who are deceitful and falsify their accounts, and fraudulently purloin the re-

venues of the kingdom should be beaten and imprisoned, and treated with disgrace and shame, and that which they have earned, should be taken from them, together with that which they have withheld. In all this, the wisdom of that just and experienced king is seen by men of wisdom ; and from the regulations which he made upon all these matters, there resulted throughout his provinces a great increase in the number of his people ; and the governors and rulers also, who were the supports and the props of his empire, received a revenue beside their salaries ; and year by year their honour and power increased, and their servants also were satisfied with plenty, nor were any of the governors or nobles or officers dragged with indignity before the Council ; and the uprightness of the governors that were under him increased day by day.

Also Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh had entrusted his Council of Ministers to men of experience and of good name, nor was there any oppression or violence or extortion on the part of the Council towards those who were employed in the provinces. In one matter only did the Council of Ministers for the space of one or two years exercise severity, namely, in the recovery of the treasure which the rebellious Khusrau Khán at the time of his overthrow had scattered, and that which the army and the people had plundered in the troublous times. Of a truth, in the matter of the recovery of that treasure which had been plundered, and of which the treasury of 'Aláuddín had been emptied, and nothing left in the treasure house, the Council of the Ministers of Tughluq Sháh were not slow to exercise severity. Now there were three kinds of men from whom recovery was demanded, and the first were they who were not wholly without the fear of God. These men therefore, who were few in number, came and restored to the treasury the money which they had received from Khusrau Khán. But the second class of men, who loved money, deferred to make restitution, and hoped that by bribes and flattery they would escape. But Sultán Tughluq Sháh would not listen to their excuses, but demanded payment with severity, and would in no wise let them go. The third class of those who had received the treasure, were covetous and envious men, and plunderers, being without honesty, and thieves, whose life was full of evil practises : and these were

many, and withstood to the utmost the demand that was made on them, and endured hardness and violence; and when they were pressed to pay, they reviled, and went about making complaint before all men, and speaking evil even of such a king, who was the Defender of the Faith, and the guardian of Musalmáns, and they ceased not to pour imprecations upon him. Then the king ordered that these men, because they would not pay, should be cast into prison, and beaten and tortured till such time as they made restitution, nor would he listen to their false excuses. Thus, because for the space of a year he strove greatly to recover the sums which had been plundered and cast away, it came to pass that the treasure of 'Aláuddín was recovered to the full.

To Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh was there given by God much wisdom and prudence in the matter of the collection of revenue and the bestowal of presents, so that all that he did in this matter of taxing he did well, and all that he did in the matter of gifts, he did with justice and with generosity. When it was unlawful or unwise to tax, he taxed not; and when to give was waste and prodigality, he gave not; so that there are not many kings who in these matters have shewn such moderation. Every week also Sultán Tughluq Sháh opened the great door of the king's court, and distributed alms to all such as were gathered there, according to the need of each: and in the distribution of gifts he observed the rule of moderation, never giving to excess, nor with exceeding parsimony. Also was he careful to eschew the example of those rulers, who without just cause, give to one man thousands, and leave others in the torments of envy. Because of the presents that he made, there were gathered to him friends and well-wishers: and men were made loyal to him. And his generosity was not a cause of envy, nor did it make men his enemies. In that he was a man of forethought, he was cautious in rewarding the officers of his court according to their deserts, and their rank, and the length of their service, so that each should receive his due, and no man be disappointed or envious, or be discontented with the king: and those who had not received, be jealous of those who had received, and become contentious and disaffected. He strove rather to give so that he to whom he gave should be the

more content, and among those to whom was given, there should arise no striving and discontent. Being therefore gifted with foresight and with prudence, he was careful that each of the attendants of his court should receive his due reward, and that none should be left in want. Also Sultán Ghiásauddín Tughluq Sháh, in the distribution of alms, observed a custom which had hitherto been unknown in Delhi. For at the receipt of the news of any victory, or any other glad tidings, or the birth of any son, or the ceremony of the purifying of any of the king's sons, he was wont to assemble the chief men and the nobles, the wise men, and the readers of the law, the scholar and the teacher, the instructor and the pupil, to the door of his palace: and in the royal presence he gave to each according as his position entitled him. Besides this also, he sent presents to religious houses, to holy men and recluses and to devotees, according to their need, and strove that in the city all men of merit and of piety should have a share in his favour. He was very swift to relieve those who were immediately about him and attached to his presence or his person: and none of these men were ever in want, nor did he allow them to become indebted, so that all rejoiced with the king, and were glad when he was glad. Also if he gave little, he gave of a truth to many, and often; so that if a man should count up the measure of the gifts which Sultán Tughluq Sháh gave in one year, the sum would be exceeding large. His kindness also caused him to strive for the welfare and the happiness of all his people, and he was grieved when any were in want; for it was his desire that the people, and the army, and all classes should live in comfort and in prosperity. Hence was it that he endeavoured that all his subjects, whether Hindú or Musalmán, should be busy with the labour of the field, or other kind of labour, and should thrive in it, and should cease from asking charity, and be relieved from indigence. Also he desired that there should be no more begging from door to door, but that the beggars also should find occupation, and should cease to importune, and to ask for alms, because of their nakedness and want. He desired rather that every man of every class, throughout his kingdom, should have his proper calling, and should be at ease, and that there should be no more

evil or crime or other perplexity. Every day, and every week, and every month, he summoned to him the families of those who were his intimates and his friends, and enquired into their circumstances, and sought to know whether each was in comfort and abundance ; for he would not that any of his followers should, from any cause, be brought to sorrow, or rendered low by any kind of trouble.

For of a surety in the king was there no desire for oppression, misrule, or any other evil thing. Nevertheless, because men are full of greed and of covetousness, and there are many who are rich without merit and desert, all such hated the king, because that he was a man who discerned the right and distinguished merit, and would have every one rewarded accordingly. Such men spoke evil of the king, as they had spoken evil of Sultán Jaláluddín Khiljí, who was of a truth a king of the faithful and wise. For this is the way of covetous and greedy men, and they cannot abide the king who is just and discerning, and who will not lavish upon the unworthy wealth and treasure. These are the men who wish for a prodigal king, and a shedder of blood, and one who casts away treasure, taking from many unjustly, and unjustly giving to many ; overthrowing the houses which stand, and building up the houses of such as are without merit. These are the kings who exalt men of little worth, and the hard-hearted ones, and the wicked : setting them up in high places, and slaying the deserving ones and the upright and faithful, and utterly uprooting them and bringing them to ruin. One they drown in riches, and another they make a scorn and a by-word. But a king such as was Sultán Ghiásuddín, worldly men, and men of ill-repute, and such as seek only their own wishes, cannot abide, and will speak no good of him : wishing rather for a king who should exalt the unworthy, the idolater, the law-breaker, and such as are wicked and live openly in sin ; a king taking no heed of merit, but setting all his thoughts upon carnal pleasure ; and persecuting whatsoever is lawful, or becoming, or seemly.

As to his army, which is the support of a kingdom, Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh was exceeding thoughtful, caring for them as a father for his children, and himself enquiring into all expenditure, so that not a single coin was misappropriated

by the officers, or anything taken from them by the office of the General of the Forces. Also he regarded their families. And when he ascended the throne of the empire, he assigned to Siráj ul mulk Khwájah Hájí the office of Lieutenant-General of the Forces, and the whole charge of the office of the General of the Forces. And with regard to the recruiting and approval of soldiers, which is the chief cause of efficiency in an army, and the choice and approval of weapons and of horses, he followed the rules of 'Aláuddín. Such as neglected their duty or were guilty of cowardice, and deserted from the ranks of the army, he punished with extreme severity. The sums which the army had received from Khusrau Khán, he recovered from their salary up to the extent of one year's pay, but larger sums be recovered by degrees over a period of years, so that the soldiers should not be put to straits. The sums which had been plundered, or which had remained in the treasury and had not been distributed, he also recovered. Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh, during the four or five years in which he sat on the throne, ordered that the pay of his troops should be distributed in his presence, and that great care and attention should be paid in the matter of accounts, so that nothing should be kept back from their pay. Thus was it that his army was exceeding well-appointed and very powerful.

The salaries and allowances also of the nobles he so apportioned according to their rank, that the former nobles were increased in comfort, and to such as had been lately ennobled was there given dignity and power and prosperity. The villages, lands, pensions, and rewards given by 'Aláuddín, Sultán Tughluq Sháh, without enquiry and without scrutiny, confirmed, and approved with one stroke of his pen. But he cancelled all the orders and the grants of the rebel Khusrau Khán, which were made during the period of four months that he reigned, and hesitated not to resume the gifts which he had given. Also he was careful to enquire into all grants which had been given by 'Aláuddín and Quṭbuddín from carelessness and ignorance, or through the intrigues of their followers and courtiers. All that had been given without cause, or because of the influence of courtiers, he resumed, and all which had been justly given, he confirmed. Furthermore, there has never reigned in Delhi a king more moderate in the

collection of his revenues, than was Sultán Tughluq Sháh, who would remit from lacs to thousands, and from thousands to hundreds; so that if it were told him by his councillors in his presence, that such a one is in bonds, because of arrears which are due to the treasury, and offers as security for the lacs which are due from him ten thousand or five thousand tankahs, even with this much would he be satisfied, and would order the debtor to be released, and bid him make arrangements for payment of the balance, holding it wrong that any man should remain long in bonds for arrears of revenue. In no matter did he approve of vexatious enquiry, or of exaction; for he wished that the affairs of his kingdom should be administered according to the laws. Such things also as give rise to irritation among the people, both he and his Councillors were careful to avoid, desiring that the minds of all classes of his people should be at rest: for he wished not that men should be perplexed because of him. Sultán Tughluq Sháh eschewed all measures which should disturb rule or order, and all acts without purpose, such as bear fruit only in sorrow and vexation to the people. Nevertheless man is born ungrateful, and it has been said by God in the Qorán that “all men are thankless.”

So it happened that the covetous and the envious, the wicked and the faithless, spoke evilly even of such an upright and just king; and those who without cause had obtained rewards, and monies, from Quṭbuddín, in a time of forgetfulness and folly, and from Khusrau Khán at the time of his despair, spoke harm of Sultán Tughluq Sháh, and made complaint of that just and upright one, and looked for the overthrow of his empire, making eyes one at another, and speaking folly; and they said also of him, who was generous above all men, that he was covetous. Now I, Ziá i Baraní, who also wrote the annals of Fírúz Sháh, have heard from the tongues of many men of experience, whose eyes, looking for the judgment to come, were anointed with the ointment of justice, that they, regarding only the welfare of the Faith, and the well being of Musalmáns, declared that no such king as Sultán Tughluq Sháh had ever sat upon the throne of Delhi, nor was it probable that such another would ever be seated upon that throne. For all the wisdom and knowledge and merit and justice, that is needed in a

king, and all other things which have been written to be necessary for a ruler, God had in no wise withheld from Sultán Tughluq Sháh. But he was clothed in courage and might, in understanding and wisdom, in justice and religion, being the Defender of the Faithful, and guardian of the obedient, and the scourge of the disobedient. Through his great experience also was the kingdom adorned. If men look to a king for order and the establishment of authority, which is the basis of all government, Sultán Tughluq Sháh, even within the year of his accession, established authority more firmly than other kings have done, though with much shedding of blood and causeless violence. Again, if we look to a king for protection of the Faith, Ghiásuddín, throughout his reign, was indeed the Defender of the Faithful. Also he closed the door to the incursions of the Mughul: nor from fear of his sword, did the Mughul dare to cross the border of his kingdom, or advance beyond the river, or in any way molest a single Musalmán. So great was the fear of his sword both on the unbeliever and on the rebel, that neither did the Mughul dare to cross his border, nor were the rebellious within his territories emboldened to lift up their heads. Further, if we look to a king for justice and wisdom in his ordinances, and the righteousness of his rule, because of the justice and the uprightness of Tughluq Sháh, the wolf durst not seize upon the lamb, and the lion and the deer drank at one stream. Through his ordinances and his regulations, the dignity and the honour of his qázís and judges, and of such as declared law and administered justice, was greatly increased. If we look to a king for the care of his army, who are the protection of the Faith and the defenders of Islám, through the wisdom of Tughluq Sháh, so soon as he ascended the throne, many thousands of horsemen were raised, and disciplined, and equipped, and over them were placed captains of experience, and such as were skilful in war. In his time the army was always paid in full, nor was a single coin kept back. If we look to a king for a care of the interests of the tillers of the soil, the name of Sultán Tughluq Sháh has become a proverb throughout Hindústán and Khurásán in this matter. For the desire of his heart was to dig canals and to plant fine groves, and

to cause forts to be erected for the safety of the cultivators, and such as labour in the field. Also did he strive to restore waste places, and to reclaim such lands as were exhausted and worn out. So that in this matter he excelled all who had gone before him, and had he sat but for a few years upon the throne, and been spared from the stroke of death, he would beyond doubt have caused to be inhabited many thousands of deserted houses, so that the thorny desert should have become a fruitful grove, and the waste a flowering garden. Also would he have dug for miles upon miles and leagues upon leagues, canals like to the rivers Ganges and Jamna; creating running streams, and conferring benefit and comfort, and much prosperity upon the labourer and tiller of the soil; so that there would have been no end to the increase of corn, and the overflowing of abundance. Also will men speak to all time of the Castle of Tughluqábád, as a proof of his magnificence in building. Yet again, if we look to a king to ensure the safety of travellers, and to protect the high roads of the kingdom, and to punish such as rob upon the high road, so great was the fear of the sword of Tughluq Sháh in the hearts of all robbers and plunderers, that in his time, the robbers became the protectors of the public roads, and the plunderers and the violent, breaking their swords, converted them into ploughshares, and sold their bows: and the crooked became straight, and they betook themselves to the labour of the field, nor was the name of robbery heard; and the fear of the robber was wiped away from the minds of men. Within his kingdom the thief did not dare to take a grain from the store of any man; and not within his kingdom only, but in Ghazní also, from the fear of the sword of Tughluq Sháh, the violent ceased from violence, neither did they any more gather together to prey upon the track of the merchants and caravans. If again we look to a king for observance of the precepts of the Faith, and strict adherence to its ordinances, and for purity of spirit, which is the chief of all the ordinances of Islám, Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh excelled above godless kings, inasmuch as he was pure and upright, and gifted with integrity and probity. Also was he careful to observe all the hours of prayer, nor would he retire to his harem until he had repeated the prayer before sleep, nor did he ever

absent himself from public prayer on Fridays or on holy days, but was careful on the third night of the Ramazán to perform the twenty-two genuflexions called 'Taráwih,' and it is known to God that throughout the month of Ramazán he observed with exceeding observance the daily fast. Because of his purity and uprightness, he would not gather round him lads, and beardless boys, sons of the nobles, handsome slaves, or beautiful singing boys : accounting as his enemy such an one as was spoken of as bestial or uncleanly. Nor went he with harlots. During his reign, he would join in no drinking parties, but forbade the drinking of wine to all subjects of his kingdom, refraining himself also from dice. In such times as he took his pleasure, no man saw him drunk with wine, or overcome by any other temptation. But in all things, Sultán Tughluq Sháh so observed the Musalmán faith, that the words of the irreligious and the thoughts of the evil ones could find no fault in him. Also was that king an humble man, never vaunting himself without cause, or exalting himself unseemly. From his boyhood upwards, in his youth, and in his manhood, there was found in him no guile, or dishonesty, or deceit, or rebelliousness, or any such evil thing. God kept him also free from such faults and sins as raise the clamour of him that wishes evil : throughout his life was he honoured, and held in reverence, and esteemed. If, furthermore, in a king we look for gratitude and recompense of service and giving of reward, Sultán Tughluq Sháh was pre-eminent above all kings, and exalted for ever above all such as have held authority. For those who had served him in his army and in his government, or in any wise rendered him assistance, he rewarded so that to the soldier was awarded the portion of the governor, and to the governor the portion of princes. Those who had long been faithful to him he cherished as a tender father cherishes his son, and his companions of old time he fostered like as men foster their brother and their children, and looked upon their families as his family, and would allow no harm or loss to happen to them, or to their bondsmen or dependants. Because that he was faithful, and of the grateful, and one who remembered the services which had been done for him, Sultán Tughluq Sháh, laid aside in the presence of those of his own house the royal state and the circumstance of kings. Those of his household also like the

captains and the servants of his government, he advanced in honours and provided with all that they needed, and shewed them much kindness. And though he had become a king, nevertheless he ceased not to sit as of old with them. With his former servants and dependants, also, he laid aside the majesty of his kingship, but maintained the former intercourse. In courage also, and in cunning and strategy in matters pertaining to war, among all the chiefs and captains of Hindústán and Khurásán was there none like unto Sultán Tughluq Sháh; for if I were to tell of all his battles and his wars, I suppose that another book would not suffice. Would that he had reigned yet a few more years, that he might have carried the knowledge of Islám to the East and to the West, so that the kingdoms of the infidel and the parts of the heretic should have come under the rule of that king of Islám! For while he ruled, he surpassed the glory of Rustam, and had he been spared from death, he would have excelled the deeds of Alexander. All that Sultán 'Aláuddín did with so much shedding of blood, and crooked policy, and oppression, and great violence, in order that he might establish his rule throughout the cities of his empire, Sultán Tughluq Sháh in the space of four years accomplished without any contention or fraud, or hardness, or slaughter. Those therefore who consider the matter, being men of experience, say that the reign and the duration of the government of Sultán Tughluq Sháh was among the chiefest of the blessings of God, and these men praise God thankfully, and offer to Him honour; while the craving of the envious and the covetous, which would not be satisfied with the treasures of Qárún, were set at nought by the glory of the government of such a king: and their evil longings were disappointed, so that they spoke bitterly and ceased not to revile him, and expected anxiously that such a one, in whom the world found rest, should die.

THE FIRST APPOINTMENT OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD, AT THAT TIME CALLED ULUGH KHAN, TO CAPTURE ARANKUL.

Now it came to pass that in the year 722, Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh gave to Sultán Muhammad the emblems of royalty, and appointed to him a host, and bade him depart into the country of Arankul, and the parts of Taling. And with him there were sent

certain of the former nobles of 'Aláuddín, and of his own officers also appointed he many. Sultán Muhammad therefore, in the pomp of royalty, and with a great gathering, departed for Arankul, and arriving at Deogír, he took with him the chief men of that place, and such of its garrison as were needed by him, and arrived by stages in the parts of Taling. Then from fear of the power of Sultán Tughluq Sháh, and because of the terror of Sultán Muhammad, Rái Suddar Deo, with all his nobles and his captains, withdrew into his castle, and resolved that he would avoid battle. But Sultán Muhammad arrived at Arankul, and encamped round about the earthen fortress of that place, and halted there, and ordered that they should send certain of the leaders, and should spoil the country of Taling, and gather for the army of Islám much treasure and provision. So because of them, there was gathered much spoil, and the army began with carefulness to besiege the castle. Now many Hindús had gathered themselves together in the forts of earth and of stone, and coming from the east and from the west, had made much preparation, so that daily the host of Islám fought with the besieged, and the battle was sharp, and from within were thrown fireballs, and on either side were many slain. But the army of Islám prevailed against the Hindús, and brought them to a strait, and discomfited them, so that it nearly came to pass that the earthen fortress of Arankal was captured. Then Saddar Deo Rái of Arankal took council with his chiefs, and sent to Sultán Muhammad envoys, and made offer of submission; also he laid before him treasure, with elephants and jewels and much wealth: for he hoped that even as in the day of 'Aláuddín there had been given to the Viceroy treasure and great presents, so that he had received of the tribute, and returned whence he came, so also might it be with Sultán Muhammad, and that he too should return. But Sultán Muhammad would have none of them, but continued the rather to besiege the castle, hoping to make the Rái of Arankal his captive, and would in no wise listen to terms, and the heralds returned in discomfort.

Now it happened that for the space of a little more than a month, while the besieged were in this strait, and were think-

ing among themselves whether they should submit, there had arrived no couriers from the king. Although there were wont to come to Sultán Muhammad from his father two or three despatches in each week, not a single despatch had been received by him. Because of this, Sultán Muhammad and his councillors were troubled in their minds, and they said among themselves that some of the stations on the road had risen in rebellion, and because of them there was no communication, and the couriers had ceased to arrive. Then was it known in the camp that Sultán Muhammad was troubled in his mind, and there arose all manner of suspicion, and the tidings spread by degrees among all men. Then 'Abíd, the poet, and a Shaikhzadah of Damascus, who were men of evil repute and infamous, and among them that stood in the presence of Sultán Muhammad, began to pervert the minds of men, and spread false reports amongst the army, saying that Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq had died in the city of Delhi, and that there was rebellion within Delhi, and that a stranger had seized the throne, so that there was no more any communication. Because of their sayings, men began to fear: and these infamous ones, 'Abíd the poet, and the Shaikhzadah, the Damascene, being sons of evil and rebellious, faithless also and ungrateful, devised yet another mischief; and they went to Malik Tamar and to Malik Takín, and to Malik Mal Afghán and to Malik Káfúr, keeper of the seals, and spoke to them saying, "Sultán Muhammad regardeth you, who are of the chiefs of the nobles of 'Aláuddín and captains of his host, as men who are dangerous to him, and as fellow-plotters against him, and thinks to slay you, and upon one day will he seize you all, and will cause you to be put to death." Then, because those four captains knew that the speakers were of those who stood in the presence of Sultán Muhammad, and were about him, they believed their words, and gathered themselves together, and, with their host, left the army. And because of their departure all men were afraid, and there arose a great cry, so that in every rank there was contention and rebellion, and there was great distress, no man trusting his neighbour. But the Hindús within the walls heard that some misfortune had happened to the besiegers, and they gathered heart, and sallied out from within the walls, and plundered the

camp, and went their way. Sultán Muhammad also, with those who were of his immediate followers, fled to Deogír, and his army was disheartened, and began to disperse. But while Sultán Muhammad was yet on the way to Deogír, there met him messengers from the city bringing with them the royal mandates, and news of the safety of the king. Then the nobles of 'Aláuddín, who with one consent had forsaken Sultán Muhammad, were divided amongst themselves, and each man did what seemed right to him, and their footmen and their servants fled from them, and their horses and army fell into the hands of the Hindús. But Sultán Muhammad arrived in safety at Deogír, and there he gathered to him his army. Malik Tamar with certain of his horsemen fled, and went into the Hindú country and there died. Malik Takín who was also a noble of Audh, the Hindús slew, and sent his skin to Sultán Muhammad to Deogír; and Malik Mal Afghán and 'Abíd the poet and the other conspirators they bound, and sent them to Sultán Muhammad to Deogír, but he sent them alive to his father. Now it had come to pass that already the wives and children of those rebellious nobles had been seized; and Sultán Ghiásuddín gave a show in the plain of public entertainment, and there they hung up 'Abíd the poet, and Káfúr, keeper of the seals, and the other conspirators. Certain others also, with their women and children, they cast beneath the feet of elephants, and the day was passed in the execution of those men, so that those who saw it were filled with fear. And because of the punishment with which Sultán Tughluq Sháh had punished them, and in that he had cast many women and children to the elephants, the whole city was mightily afraid.

THE SECOND EXPEDITION OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD AGAINST ARANKAL.

After the space of four months, Sultán Ghiásuddín gave to Sultán Muhammad a large army, and appointed him other soldiers, and sent him to Arankal, and again Sultán Muhammad arrived in the country of Taling, and took the fort of Badar: and the captain of the fort fell into his hands; and from thence he went to Arankal, and laid siege to the earthen fortress of that place. And after some

days, by arrows shot through tubes and by catapults, he forced an opening into the outer and inner fort, and he took prisoner Saddar Deo, with his princes, his nobles, and headmen, their women, their children, their elephants, and their horses, and he sent news of his victory to Delhi. And in Delhi and Tughluqábád they spread canopies and made rejoicing, and caused the drums to be beaten nine times. But Saddar Deo was sent with his elephants, and his treasure, and his followers, by the hand of Malik Bedár, called also Qadar Khán, and Khwájah Hájí, Lieutenant-General of the Forces, to the king, and to Arankal was given the name of Sultán-púr. Then Sultán Muhammad conquered the whole country of Taling, and divided it into provinces and governments, and appointed officers and governors, and from the whole country of Taling took he one year's revenue. From thence he marched towards Jájnagar, when he captured forty elephants, and returned with victory to Taling. But the elephants he sent to the king at Delhi.

DEPARTURE OF SULTAN GHIASUDDIN FOR LAK'HNAUTI, AND HIS CONQUEST THERE, AND IN SUNNARGAON AND SATGAON, AND THE SUBMISSION OF THE GOVERNORS OF LAK'HNAUTI.

Now in the time that Arankal was taken, and the elephants arrived from Jájnagar, certain troops of the Mughul came within the limits of the kingdom, and the armies of Islám encountered them, and defeated them with great slaughter, and took prisoners their two leaders, and sent them to the Court. In those days was it that Sultán Ghiásuddín made Tughluqábád his capital, and caused his nobles and his chieftains to reside there with their families, and to establish themselves there. At that time also there came certain of the chief men of Lak'hnautí, and stood in the presence of the king, and told him of the tyranny and exactions of the governors of Lak'hnautí, and informed him of their distress and of their sufferings, and of the complaints of all Musalmáns, because of the injustice of those governors. So Sultán Ghiásuddín resolved within himself that he would march to Lak'hnautí, and he sent messengers to Sultán Muhammad, and bade him come from Arankal, and appointed him Regent in his

absence, and entrusted to him the affairs of the government; and himself departed with an army to Lak'hnautí, and crossing deep rivers, and quicksands, and swamps, he hurried on his way to Lak'hnautí and ceased not to advance rapidly; and because the fear of Tughluq Sháh was great throughout Khurásán and Hindústán, and all the cities and countries of Hind and of Sindh, in that he had quickly subdued all the princes and governors of the East and of the West, when the shadow of Tughluq Sháh fell upon Tirhut, Sultán Náçiruddín, governor of Lak'hnautí, came with submission and obeisance to the Court, and humbly offered allegiance: so that before the sword of Tughluq Sháh was drawn, all the chiefs and the nobles of that country hastened to do him service, and to offer him their obedience. Then Tatár Khán, who was the adopted son of Sultán Tughluq Sháh, and was governor of Zafarábád, was sent with an army and brought all that country to submission; and Sultán Bahádur Sháh, governor of Sunnárgháon, who was rebellious, he brought with a halter round his neck, into the presence of the king; and all the elephants that were in those parts were gathered together into the king's elephant-stable, and there was collected to the army of Islám much treasure because of that expedition. Then Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh made Sultán Náçiruddín governor of Lak'hnautí, and entrusted to him the kingly power, because he had hastened to do obeisance, and sent him to his government. But of Sátgháon and Sunnárgháon he took possession. And Bahádur Sháh he sent with a halter round his neck to Delhi, and Sultán Tughluq Sháh returned in triumph and with victory toward Tughluqábád. In Delhi also the news of the victory in Bengal was read in all the pulpits, and canopies were erected, and the drums were beaten, and there was much rejoicing. But Sultán Tughluq Sháh, leaving behind him his army, hastened on by double marches, and arrived in the neighbourhood of his capital.

DEATH OF SULTAN GHIASUDDIN TUGHLUQ SHAH AFTER HE HAD ARRIVED IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF TUGHLUQABAD, AND HAD ALIGHTED UNDER THE ROOF OF A PAVILION ; A KING BY WHOSE DEATH THE WORLD WAS DARKENED, AND THROWN INTO DISTRESS AND CONFUSION.

Now when Sultán Muhammad heard that Sultán Tughluq Sháh was hastening to his capital of Tughluqábád, and had already arrived in its neighbourhood, he ordered that they should erect a small building about eight miles from Tughluqábád, by Afghánpúr, so that the king might alight, and pass the night therein, and proceed in the morning with his royal retinue to Tughluqábád, where also coloured canopies were erected, and the drums beaten. So Sultán Ghiásuddín, at the hour of the second prayer, arrived at the pavilion which had been newly erected, and alighted there, and Sultán Muhammad, with the princes and the nobles, met his father, and kissed his feet. Then Sultán Tughluq Sháh called for food, and after that he had eaten it, and the princes and the chiefs came out for the cleansing of hands, there fell upon the earth the lightning of the calamity of heaven, and the roof of the pavilion, under which the king was sitting, fell suddenly upon him ; and he, with six or seven others, was buried under it, and he died ; and so great a conqueror and captain, whom the world could not contain, lies buried in twelve feet of earth—

“Who is able to see, Oh eye of blind fate !

“Two worlds in twelve feet of the grave?”

And from the death of Sultán Tughluq Shah, the order of the world was changed into disorder—

“That kingdom of Egypt, which thou sawest, is no more,

“And that Nile of Mercy, which thou heardst of, was a mirage ;

“The Form of Safety and the Spirit of Security

“Are veiled from the gaze of spectators.

“Calamity covered the heavens with a garment :

“The covering of darkness was as a veil to the firmament.”

How wiser are they who have resigned this unstable world, and turned from it their faces, because of its inconstancy and its oppression ; and have satisfied themselves with the bread and the

salt of contentment! For the world and all its glory is but a spectacle. Yet even to the worldly is not this warning sufficient, that to the king who had conquered Hind, and arrived victorious, and crowned with honour, at his capital, was it not given to see the faces of his family, but he passed at one breath from a throne to the bosom of the earth, exchanging a palace for a grave.

A man shall ask—Where are gone those famous ones? Behold!

The womb of the Earth is for ever pregnant with them.

The Earth is drunken, because she hath tasted of wine:

In the cup of the skull of Hurmuz, hath she drunk the heart's blood of Naushírwán.*



The Ruins at Kopari, Balasore District.—By JOHN BEAMES, B. C. S.,
Magistrate of Balasore.

(With two plates.)

Two years ago I found at Kopari a small image with an inscription on the back, a copy of which I sent to the Society. The people worshipped the image as Lakshmi, but Babu Rajendra-lal having pronounced it to be Maya Devi, the mother of Buddha, they have now come to the conclusion that the “deo” has gone out of it, and made no objection to my removing it, which I have done on the occasion of my recent visit to the place.

On this visit I have been able to make a more minute inspection of the ruins and the surrounding country, and send you the following notes, with a few rough sketches and plans.

The place is interesting not only from its singular physical appearance, but as being the only place in northern Orissa where distinct traces of Buddhism are still observable. It is situated in lat. $20^{\circ} 19'$, long. $86^{\circ} 30'$; 42 miles south-west of the town of Balasore and close to the point where the three native tributary States of Moharbhanj, Nilgiri, and Keonjhar meet. It is a level plain surrounded on three sides by low rocky hills. The soil is sterile and in many places consists of nothing but large slabs of laterite rock, as flat and regular as a London street pavement,

* The text edition (p. 453) has two couplets more; but they convey no meaning.